

REMARKS

OF

MR. HAMMOND,

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA,

ON THE

QUESTION OF RECEIVING PETITIONS

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

IN THE

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 1, 1836.

WASHINGTON CITY

DUFF GREEN.

REMARKS.

The motion of Mr. CUSHING, of Massachusetts, to receive the petition of sundry inhabitants of Massachusetts praying for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia being under consideration :

Mr. HAMMOND said, that when he had first demanded the preliminary question of reception on the presentment of a similar petition some weeks ago, it was his hope and expectation that it would be decided without debate. On every subsequent occasion when he had felt it his duty to make a similar demand, he had entertained the same desire, and had himself refrained from taking any part in the discussions which had arisen. It was obvious, however, that gentlemen presenting these petitions were determined to discuss them ; and after what had occurred on last petition day, he concluded that no such petition would be offered to the House hereafter, without a preliminary speech as well as motion. As much, therefore, as he felt indisposed to block the proceedings of the House on this important day, he thought perhaps he had as well say at once what he had to say on this subject in its present stage, and by so doing he might facilitate the business of the House.

I listened, sir, with much pleasure to the address of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CUSHING) who presented this petition, and I believe I can say that I concur in every principle which he laid down. I am sure he cannot have a more sacred regard for the inestimable right of petition than I entertain. But, really, I cannot see what the discussion of that right can have to do with the question before the House.

No one here desires to "pass a law" depriving "the people of the right of peaceably assembling, and petitioning for a redress of grievances." They have so assembled. They have petitioned for the redress of their imaginary grievances. The petition has been presented to the House. Its contents have been stated. If it had been requested, the petition itself might have been read by the Clerk. We are, sir, in full possession of its character and object—the petitioners and their representatives having performed their part without 'let or hindrance,' and it is now our duty to perform that which devolves on us. We may refuse to receive the petition, and record it on our journals ; or we may receive and instantly reject ; or commit, and, on a report, reject the prayer of the petitioners ; or we may grant their prayer. Any of these courses it is fully competent for this House to adopt ; and none of them, in my opinion, impugn in the slightest degree the right of petition which has been so justly denominated "sacred."

I think, sir, that this House should not receive the petition, and that is the course which I suggest. The gentleman says it is not disrespectful in its terms. I pass that by, then. But I think we should not receive it still, ~~as it is not respectful in its terms~~ as we have no constitutional power to do ; and

what, if we had the power, it would be ruinous to a large portion of this confederacy, and ultimately destructive to all our institutions, for us to do.

The constitutional power to abolish Slavery and the Slave Trade in this District is claimed by virtue of the clause which gives to Congress "exclusive legislation" here. I admit at once, that under that clause Congress has full power, so far as "legislation" is concerned, over this District, except where it is limited by the letter or the spirit of the Constitution in other portions of that instrument, or by the contract made with the States of Virginia and Maryland in the acts of cession by those States. As this point has been ably, and I think satisfactorily discussed, both in this House and another portion of the Capitol, I will take but a single view of it at this time. All the powers given by the constitution are trust powers, and should be construed in connexion with each other, and in reference to the great objects they were intended to accomplish. Now, I ask, if any member of this House, having before him those clauses of the constitution forbidding the passage of laws, even by the States, to prevent the arrest of "persons held to labor" in the other States—forbidding "Congress to take private property" even "for public uses without just compensation," and recognizing slaves as *property*, entitled to representation only as three-fifths, and not as *persons* entitled to full representation,—can say that it will not be a violation of the letter and the whole spirit of the Constitution to assume the power which you are now called on to exercise. As much a violation of it as to pass an *ex post facto* law or bill of attainder here.

I ask, gentlemen, if they believe this Constitution would ever have received the sanction of a single Slave State, if it had been suspected for a moment that this power was given to Congress by it.

But, Sir, admitting for the sake of argument that the Constitution places no limitation to the power of "legislation" in the District of Columbia, I ask how far that power will, of itself, extend? What are the great objects of all human legislation? To *protect* life, liberty, and *property*. Can we, under this definition, assume the power wantonly to *destroy* them? It is true property is sometimes seized as a penalty for misdemeanors, and liberty, and even life are forfeited for crimes. But does this warrant Congress, or any legislative body in this country, *at its free will and pleasure* to confiscate the estate of a peaceful and unoffending citizen, or imprison him or take away his life?—Sir, monstrous as these propositions are, they are not more monstrous, nor would they be more fatal in their consequences than that which these petitioners ask us now to adopt.—And here let me say in answer to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Cushing), that I can see no difference between the constitutional power to abolish the Slave Trade and the power to abolish Slavery itself. If the slave owner is deprived of the full use of his property, unless that use impairs the rights of others, you can as well deprive him of the property itself. The principle in both cases is the same. But for the reasons I have already mentioned I will not dwell on this branch of the subject.

Mr. Speaker, I object to the reception of these petitions in the next place, because they are sent here by persons who are pursuing a systematic plan of operations intended to subvert the institutions of the South, and which, if carried into effect, must desolate the fairest portion of America, and dissolve in blood the bonds of this Confederacy. It has been said upon this floor, that the Abolitionists of the North are very few in number, and of so

little influence as to be unworthy of our attention. It has been said here, on the other hand, that they constitute a majority north of Mason and Dixon's line, and that their influence is "tremendous." Amid this conflicting testimony, permit me to call the attention of the House to some important facts connected with the subject.

It will be recollected that during this session, in consequence of the course which has been taken in the matter, on but a single day has an opportunity occurred for a free presentment of petitions of the character of that before us. On that day, although it could not have been expected that the occasion would occur, fifty-eight of these petitions were presented, a number considerably larger than the average number presented during the last four sessions. These petitions are signed by between seven and eight thousand persons, male and female, some of them signing as representatives of large Societies. I have been informed that three hundred petitions of this kind have been forwarded to Congress, and I do not doubt the fact. If they are as numerous signed, we shall have the names of some forty thousand persons petitioning Congress at this session to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. This, sir, is no small evidence of the strength of the Abolition party.

But let us trace the history of the formation of the Societies to which I have alluded. In 1832, less than four years ago, the New England Anti-slavery Society was formed. This I believe was the first Society of this kind created on this side of the Atlantic. I remember well the ridicule with which it was covered when it was known that it had been formed by a meeting of *eleven* persons. Sometime in the year 1833, the New York Anti-slavery Society was formed by a meeting composed of two and twenty men, and *two females*. I remember also the contempt with which this annunciation was greeted; but, sir, they grew in spite of our indifference and contumely.

On the fourth December 1833, at a Convention of Abolitionists in the city of Philadelphia, the great American Anti-slavery Society was formed, and a bold "DECLARATION OF THEIR SENTIMENTS" was given to the world. They announced that "all slaves should instantly be set free" "without compensation to their owners;" "that the paths of preferment, of wealth and of intelligence should be as widely opened to them as to persons of a white complexion." And that to effect these purposes they pledged themselves "to organize Anti-slavery Societies every where;" to send forth agents to remonstrate, warn, and rebuke; to circulate periodicals and tracts;" "to enlist the pulpit and the press;" "to purify the Churches of the crime of slavery;" "and to encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of Slaves by giving a preference to their productions."

From this moment the infection spread with unparalleled rapidity. In May following (1834) there were **SIXTY** Anti-slavery Societies. By May 1835, the number had increased to **TWO HUNDRED**. By October 1835, it had swollen to **THREE HUNDRED**. And by a document which I hold in my hand purporting to be a "protest of the American Anti-slavery Society" against certain sentiments expressed on this subject, by the President of the United States, in his last Annual Message, it appears that there were known to be **THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY** Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States on the 25th day of December last.

Some of these societies contain as many as four thousand members, and none of them I believe less than fifty. On a fair calculation it may be pre

sumed that not less than one hundred thousand persons in the non slave holding states are united in these societies, and their numbers are increasing daily with a rapidity almost beyond conception—a disciplined corps who have pledged life and fortune to the great purpose of emancipation.

That the spirit, means, purposes and plans of these societies may appear more fully I will refer to the “Address of the American Anti-slavery Society,” at its last annual meeting, which I have in my hand, and ask permission of the House that the Clerk may read. (a)

Here, Sir, is a number of the paper entitled “HUMAN RIGHTS”—a neat well-printed sheet. Here are several numbers of the “ANTI SLAVERY RECORD,” on the outside of each of which is a picture representing a master flogging naked slaves, and each of which contain within pictures equally revolting. Here is a handful of the little primer called the “SLAVE’S FRIEND.” On the covers, and within each of these are also pictures calculated to excite the feelings, and to nurture the incendiary spark in the tender bosom of the child. And here, Sir, is “The Emancipator,” a large and handsome paper. And that you may understand the spirit and principles which it inculcates, I will read to the House a paragraph from a number dated New York, Nov. 1835.

“THE ALTERNATIVE.—William Wertenbaker, Assistant P. M. and Librarian of the University of Virginia, gives notice that he has committed to the *flames* a copy of Human Rights we sent him : and very gravely asks, ‘Which of the two do you prefer—a *perpetuity of slavery*, or a *dissolution of the Union*?’ The latter, we say, by all odds, if we must choose. We are for union, but not with slavery. We will give the Union for the abolition of slavery, if nothing else will gain it—but if we cannot gain it at all, then the South is welcome to a dissolution—the sooner the better. The slaveholders may as well understand, first as last, that “The Union” may have other uses to them than that of a *lash* to shake over the heads of northern freemen.”

It speaks for itself. I make no commentary. Here, sir, is a pamphlet called the “Anti-Slavery Reporter,” published monthly I believe by this society. Here is a “Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine,” of very respectable size, edited by Elizar Wright, Jr. Here is a pamphlet entitled “Anti-Slavery Hymns,” of which there are nineteen. They purport to be for the use of the “Monthly Concerts for the Enslaved” in the city of New York, and the publication of a more copious collection in Boston is announced. Here is a small book entitled “Juvenile Poems.” It contains besides a great number of doggerel articles of the most inflammatory character, some nine or ten disgusting prints, all of which are designed “for the use of free American children of every complexion.” Here is a pamphlet written by a “*Man of Color*,” and here are a quantity of Sermons, Essays, Reports, Letters, &c. &c. all intended for the same incendiary purposes.

I hold also in my hand, that most powerful engine in party warfare, an “Anti Slavery Almanac for 1836.” From this allow me to read two short extracts. The following will show the political tendency of this abolition agitation : “*We are rewarding slave holders for their usurpation and injustice, by allowing them to send 25 Representatives to Congress to represent their slave property.*” It has been said that “the petitioners have no further object than merely to wipe from the national escutcheon the stain affixed to it by permitting slavery to exist at the seat of government of the United

States." In answer to that allow me to quote the following passage, and there is scarcely a publication that I have exhibited here to day in which the same sentiment is not expressed: *Should you abolish slavery in the District of Columbia alone, it would become the foundation of the system in every state of the Union.*" Nor is this work without its pictures, libelling the slave holders with their vile caricatures. To illustrate more fully the political tendency of the extraordinary excitement on this subject, although I do not intend on this occasion to discuss that branch of the question, I will refer the house to an extract from the "Anti-Slavery Circular," printed at Medina, Ohio, Dec. 1835, which I hold in my hand and which I again ask the favor of the house to permit the Clerk to read. (b)

Sir, while we are discussing the question of the reception of these petitions, movements are making at the north, and societies are springing up like mushrooms. Here are the proceedings of a meeting held within a few weeks past, at Lowell, Massachusetts, the centre of the tariff interest, at which was formed a "Young Men's Anti-slavery Society," the preamble of whose constitution I will read. (c) Here is a circular, dated "Pautucket, Rhode Island, Jan. 12, 1836," calling a "Rhode Island Anti-slavery Convention," to meet shortly at Providence. It is signed by eight hundred and forty persons. I will read from it the following remarkable passage, from which it may be seen how deep the roots of this hostility to our institutions have struck into the foundations of society.

"Our country friends we hope will attend as numerous as they have signed the circular. The wealth and aristocracy of our cities are against us. They sympathize not with "the poor and needy," but with "the arrogant and him of high looks." Let our laboring men, then, the mechanics and the farmers, attend the Convention. They can easily arrange their business so as to make it convenient to be in Providence at that time.

Here, sir, is the Prospectus of the *sixth volume* of the "LIBERATOR," published at Boston by Isaac Knapp. Prefixed to it is an incendiary picture, and it contains the following passage, which exhibits, possibly with some exaggeration, in a strong point of view the extent of the agitation on this subject throughout the non-slaveholding States.

"The sixth volume of the Liberator commences on the first of January, 1836. During the term of its existence, it has succeeded, in despite of calumny and a strong opposition, in dispelling the apathy of the nation, creating an extraordinary and most auspicious interest for the oppressed, inducing a rigid investigation of the subject, and securing a host of mortal combatants who are pledged never to retreat from the field. The wrongs of the slaves—the danger of keeping them longer in bondage—the duty of giving them immediate freedom—are the topics of conversation or discussion in all debating societies—in lyceums—in stages and steamboats—in pulpits and in periodicals—in the family circle, and between a man and his friend. The current of public sentiment is turning, and soon it will roll a mighty river, sweeping away in its healthful and resistless career all the pollutions of slavery."

This prospectus is accompanied by an anonymous communication, for which of course I cannot vouch, which states that Dr. Channing has softened the asperity of his remarks on Thompson, the *foreign* Anti-Slavery missionary, in his late work on slavery. That it has, in consequence, been stereotyped by the Abolitionists, and that the demand for it is insatiable.

My colleague (Mr. PICKENS), in the course of his remarks the other day, made an allusion to Dr. Channing, which drew from the gentleman from Massachusetts who sits near me (Mr. HOAR) a warm and passionate eulogium. He said he was a man who had stamped his genius upon the age—being almost too pure for such a world as this. I do not wish to wound the feelings of that gentleman, nor those of any friend of Dr. Channing on this floor, but I feel compelled to speak my sentiments respecting him without disguise or qualification. I have heard it said of him, by those well qualified to judge, that he is a man of superficial learning, a literary scavenger, whose acquirements consist of the mere offals of science, filched from those literary shambles the *Reviews* and *Magazines* of Europe and America. I might assume too much were I to pronounce this condemnation of him here. But this much I will say, that while I have found in his writings many pleasing passages, I have rarely met with any thing evincing profoundness or originality of thought. I have glanced my eye over his last publication, which I now hold in my hand, and seldom have I seen so puerile a production from a man of ordinary reputation. It exhibits not only shameful ignorance of the subject of which he treats, but he has erected a tissue of stale, false, shallow, and declamatory reasoning even on acknowledged facts. I beg leave to read to the House the following passage:—

“How far the obligation to conjugal fidelity, the sacredness of domestic ties, will be revered amid such temptations, such facilities to vice as are involved in slavery, needs no exposition; so terrible is the connexion of crimes! They who invade the domestic rights of others suffer in their own houses. The household of the slave may be broken up arbitrarily by the master, but he finds his revenge, if revenge he asks, in the blight which the master’s unfaithfulness sheds over his domestic joys. A slave country reeks with licentiousness: it is tainted with a deadlier pestilence than the plague.”—Page 92.

I will not inflict a review of this work on the House, but I must be allowed to say that he has not only enacted a second part to O’Connell, but also Tappan, to Garrison, Wright, Knapp, Thompson, and the whole gang of Abolition orators and writers on both sides of the Atlantic. He has but collected and compiled their cant, and if he has sometimes used better English, he has not added to its force, or spirit, or dignity, or decency. The terms in which he has characterized the morals of the South are gross, scandalous, and false. The licentiousness of which he speaks exists only in the impurity of his own imagination. And in thus calumniating us, he has exhibited a lowness and malignity of mind unworthy of a scholar, unworthy a divine, and unworthy of a gentleman. I ask pardon of the House for using such emphatic language. I regret to use it towards any person here or elsewhere; but when a man, and particularly a man of reputation, no matter how acquired, lends himself to the purposes of Arthur Tappan, and leagues with that not more detested monster, Murrell, to steep our land in blood and cover it with ashes, it becomes every one to express, in plain language, the honest indignation of his heart.

As the last evidence which I shall offer of the extent of excitement at the North upon the Slave question, I will read the following extracts from a letter from the western part of the State of New York. It is dated 12th January, 1836. The writer of it is a gentleman who has been a close and shrewd observer of events passing around him. He is a man of talents and

of strict integrity, and is one who has done and suffered something for his country. He says—

“The madness which influences our northern people on the subject of slavery, is well calculated to fill the stoutest with dismay. The spirit which followed the Utica and Peterboro Convention of Abolitionists has totally changed the question from that of the emancipation of the slave to that of the continuance of the Union.”

* * * * *

The north is now laboring to unite her people against you. The effort is immense and continual. The enclosed anti-slavery pamphlets and some ‘Emancipators’ were distributed at a Presbyterian prayer meeting in my neighborhood the other day, by the president of the anti-slavery society of this county, and were handed to me by the Deacon of the church, through the hands of one of the men in my employ. The object is to unite the northern people in hatred of the people of the South, by false representations of the condition of their slaves, and by charges of cruelty, immorality, and irreligion. I endeavour to convince my neighbours that these pamphlets are false in every particular, and that if they join in the cry of abolition, they must partake of the enormous sin of bringing on a civil war, of destroying our Union, and of causing a renewal of the horrors of St. Domingo. And for what do they labor to bring on their country and their fellow citizens of the South these dreadful calamities? It is for the liberty of the slave; and in gaining that liberty, or in the attempt, they inevitably lose their own. But this view has no weight; the effort to free your slaves will be made; and Congress will be the ultimate scene of the struggle. Our next elections will mainly turn on this question, unless you settle it now and forever; that is, before this session expires. If you adjourn without so settling it, you will have to resort to the bayonet to adjust it.”

[Mr. GRANGER and Mr. LEE, of New York, demanded the name of the author. Mr. H. said, I cannot give it. I will vouch for his character. But such is the state of society around him, I fear it would prove dangerous, if not fatal to him to disclose his name.]

Mr. Speaker, I believe what I have just read. Sir, there can no longer be a doubt of the deep, pervading, uncontrollable excitement which shakes the free states on this subject, nor of the energy and power with which the Abolitionists are pressing their mad and fatal schemes. Every mail from the north brings fresh news of agitation, every breeze is tainted with it. It spreads like wild fire in the prairies, and throws its red glare up to heaven, that all may see while it sweeps with resistless fury every thing before it. I call on every slaveholder in this House, and in this country, to mark its fearful progress and prepare to meet it. He who falters here or elsewhere, he who shrinks from taking the highest and the boldest ground at once is a traitor! A traitor to his native soil! A traitor to the memory of those from whom he has inherited his rights! A traitor to his helpless offspring, who call upon him for protection! And on his head be the blood which his treachery or cowardice may cause to flow.

Allow me now, sir, to examine more closely the real designs of those Abolitionists, the means by which they will attempt to effect them, and the probable result. Their designs are very succinctly stated in the volume which I hold in my hand. It is a treatise on this subject entitled “Jay’s Inquiry”—written by William Jay, a Judge I believe of the state of New York, and a son—a most degenerate son of the distinguished John Jay.

More than five thousand copies of this work, I am told, have been sold. He says, "*the Society aimed at effecting the following objects, viz:*

"1st. The immediate Abolition of Slavery throughout the United States.

"2d. As a necessary consequence, the suppression of the American Slave Trade.

"3d. The ultimate elevation of the black population to an equality with the white in civil and religious privileges."—p. 141

Sir, the abolition of slavery can be expected to be effected in but three ways: through the medium of the slave holder—or the Government—or the slaves themselves.

I think I may say that any appeal to the slave holders will be in vain. In the whole history of the question of Emancipation in Europe or America, I do not remember a dozen instances of masters freeing their slaves, at least during their own life-time, from any qualms of conscience. If they are seized with these qualms, they usually sell their slaves first, and then give in their adhesion to the cause, as has been the case with some whom I could mention.

The Abolitionist can appeal only to the hopes or fears or interest of the slave holder to induce him to emancipate his slaves. So far as our hopes are concerned, I believe I can say we are perfectly satisfied. We have been born and bred in a slave-country. Our habits are accommodated to them, and so far as we have been able to observe other states of society abroad, we see nothing to invite us to exchange our own; but on the contrary, every thing to induce us to prefer it above all others.

As to our fears, I know it has been said by a distinguished Virginian, and quoted on this floor, "that the fire bell in Richmond never rings at night, but the mother presses her infant more closely to her breast in dread of servile insurrection." Sir, it is all a flourish. There may be nervous men and timid women, whose imaginations are haunted with unwonted fears among us, as there are in all communities on earth, but in no part of the world have men of ordinary firmness, less fear of danger from their operatives than we have. The fires which in a few years have desolated Normandy and Anjou, the great machine burning in the heart of England, the bloody and eternal struggles of the Irish Catholics, and the mobs which for some years past have figured in the northern states, burning convents, tearing down houses, spreading dismay and ruin through their cities, and even taking life, are appropriate illustrations of the peace and security of a community whose laborers are all free. On the other hand, during the two hundred years that slavery has existed in this country, there has, I believe, been but one serious insurrection, and that one very limited in its extent.

The appeal however to our interest, is that which might appear to promise much success, for whatever it is the interest of a community to do, that (sooner or later) it will be sure to do. If you will look over the world, you will find that in all those countries where slavery has been found unprofitable, it has been abolished. In northern latitudes, where no great agricultural staple is produced, and where care, skill, and a close economy enter largely into the elements of production, free labor has been found more valuable than that of slaves. You will there find labor usually exercised in small combinations under the immediate eye of a watchful and frugal master. I speak more particularly of those who cultivate the soil; but the large masses of mechanical operatives who are brought together form no exception to the principle. They are classified. There is an accurate division of their

labor; each branch of it requires peculiar art, and in the higher departments a degree of skill must be attained, to produce which stronger stimulants are necessary than can be ordinarily applied to slaves.

In such countries the dominant classes have found it to their advantage to permit each individual to accumulate for himself, and to deprive him of a portion of his earnings sufficient for their purposes through the operations of the government. Hence the partial emancipation of the serfs of the continent of Europe. Hence the abandonment of villeinage in England. And hence the emancipation of slaves in the free states of this Union. But in southern latitudes, where great agricultural staples are produced, and where not only a large combination of labor under the direction of one head is required, but it is also necessary that the connexion between the operatives and that head should be absolute and indissoluble, domestic slavery is indispensable. To such a country it is as natural as the clime itself—as the birds and beasts to which that climate is congenial. The camel loves the desert; the reindeer seeks the everlasting snows; the wild fowl gather to the waters; and the eagle wings his flight above the mountains. It is equally the order of Providence that slavery should exist among a planting people, beneath a southern sun. There the laborer must become a fixture of the soil. His task is not from day to day, nor from month to month, but from season to season, and from year to year. He must be there to clear, to break, to plant, to till, to gather, to fallow, and to clear again; and he must be kept there by a never ceasing, unavoidable and irresistible force. The system of “*strikes*” so universally practised in all other kinds of labor would desolate a planting country in five years. If, in the heat of the crop, when the loss of one or two days even may irreparably ruin it, the laborers were to abandon the fields and demand higher wages, the owner would have no other alternative than to say to them, “work, and take enough to satisfy yourselves”—which would, of course, be all. Sir, it is not the interest of the planters of the south to emancipate their slaves, and it never can be shown to be so.

Slavery is said to be an evil; that it impoverishes the people, and destroys their morals. If it be an evil, it is one to us alone, and we are contented with it—why should others interfere? But it is no evil. On the contrary, I believe it to be the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon our glorious region. For without it, our fertile soil and our fructifying climate would have been given to us in vain. As it is, the history of the short period during which we have enjoyed it has rendered our Southern country proverbial for its wealth, its genius, its manners.

Failing as the Abolitionists must do in every appeal to the slave-holder, let us see with what probability of success they can call upon the Government to emancipate our negroes. There are about 2,300,000 slaves at this moment in the United States, and their annual increase is about 60,000. Sir, even the British Government did not dare to emancipate the slaves of its enslaved West India subjects without some compensation. They gave them about 60 per cent. of their value. It could scarcely be expected that this Government would undertake to free our slaves without paying for them. Their value, at \$400, average, (and they are now worth more than that), would amount to upwards of nine hundred millions. The value of their annual increase, alone, is twenty-four millions of dollars; so that to free them in one hundred years, without the expense of taking them from the country, would require an annual appropriation of between thirty-three

and thirty-four millions of dollars. The thing is physically impossible.

But it is impossible for another reason; the moment this House undertakes to legislate upon this subject, it dissolves the Union. Should it be my fortune to have a seat upon this floor, I will abandon it the instant the first decisive step is taken, looking towards legislation on this subject. I will go home to preach, and if I can, to practise disunion, and civil war, if needs be. A revolution must ensue, and this Republic sink in blood.

The only remaining chance for the Abolitionists to succeed in their nefarious schemes will be by appealing to the slaves themselves; and, say what they will, this is the great object at which they aim. For this are all their meetings, publications, lectures, and missions; to excite a servile insurrection, and in the language of the miscreant Thompson, to "*teach the slave to cut his master's throat.*" This will be no easy task. Sir, it is a proverb, that no human being is perfectly contented with his lot, and it may be true that some strolling emissary may extract, occasionally, complaints from Southern slaves and spread them before the world. But such instances are rare. As a class, I say it boldly, there is not a happier, more contented race upon the face of the earth. I have been born and brought up in the midst of them, and so far as my knowledge and experience extend, I should say they have every reason to be happy. Lightly tasked, well clothed, well fed—far better than the free laborers of any country in the world, our own and those perhaps of the other States of this confederacy alone excepted—their lives and persons protected by the law, all their sufferings alleviated by the kindest and most interested care, and their domestic affections cherished and maintained—at least so far as I have known, with conscientious delicacy.

A gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. ADAMS) has introduced upon this floor the abolition cant of wives and husbands, parents and children torn from each other's arms, and separated forever. Such scenes but rarely, very rarely happen. I do not believe such separations are near so common among slaves, as divorces are among white persons where they can be with much facility obtained. I am very sure that children and parents do not so often part, as in the ordinary course of emigration in this country they do among the freest and proudest of our land. Sir, our slaves are a peaceful, kind hearted and affectionate race, satisfied with their lot, happy in their comforts, and devoted to their masters. It will not be an easy thing to seduce them from their fidelity. But if by an artful and delusive appeal to his excited passions the Abolitionist should succeed in drawing the slave into his fiendish purposes, our never sleeping watchfulness would speedily detect every conspiracy that might be formed. Our habits in this respect have become a second instinct. Our vigilance is as prompt and personal as our courage—as faithful a guardian, and not more troublesome. It does not arise from fear, but from the fact that we ourselves, to a great extent, constitute our own police, and in guarding against minor evils will not fail to discover every danger of great magnitude. Such has been and such will always be the case. Every insurrection which has yet been meditated, and there have been but very few,—when not discovered by some faithful slave, has been soon discovered by the whites, the unfortunate occurrence at Southampton only excepted—if that can be called an insurrection which was the bloody outbreaking of six drunken wretches. I believe that every appeal to the slave to assist, through the horrid process of burning and assassination, in

his own emancipation, much as it is (in secret at least) cherished, will be without success.

Sir, I feel firmly convinced that, that under any circumstances, and by any means, emancipation, gradual or immediate, is impossible. We may be disturbed in our comforts, harassed, injured, perhaps some partial sufferings may be the consequences of their mad and savage projects, but slavery can never be abolished. The doom of Ham has been branded on the form and features of his African descendants. The hand of fate has united his color and his destiny. Man cannot separate what God hath joined.

But, Mr. Speaker, admitting for a moment that the Abolitionist could accomplish all his objects. Suppose the bonds of the slave were broken peacefully, and he was turned loose to choose his life and occupation on the face of the earth, what would probably be his actual state? Sir, we have some experience on this subject. I hold in my hand a paper containing an account of the situation of a colony of free blacks in Brown county, in Ohio, which I ask permission for the Clerk to read. (*d*)

Such, sir, are the blessed fruits of Abolition; and to make such miserable and degraded wretches as these are we called on to give up our happy, industrious, and useful slaves—to strike out of existence nine hundred millions of active and inestimable capital, and impoverish and desolate the fairest region of the globe. But it is said that this is the dark side of the picture, and that emancipation—“*gradual* emancipation,” would produce far better consequences. Although I am perfectly satisfied that no human process can elevate the black man to an equality with the white—admitting that it could be done—are we prepared for the consequences which then must follow? Are the people of the north prepared to restore to them two-fifths of their rights of voters, and place their political power on an equality with their own? Are *we* prepared to see them mingling in our legislation? Is any portion of this country prepared to see them enter these halls and take their seats by our sides, in perfect equality with the white representatives of an Anglo-Saxon race—to see them fill that chair—to see them placed at the heads of your Departments; or to see perhaps some Othello, or Toussaint, or Boyer, gifted with genius and inspired by ambition, grasp the Presidential wreath and wield the destinies of this great Republic? From such a picture I turn with irrepressible disgust.

But, sir, no such consequences as either of these views exhibit can take place with us. There is no such thing as gradual emancipation, even if we were to consent to it. Those who know the negro character cannot doubt, what the recent experiments in the West Indies fully prove, that the first step you take towards emancipation bursts at once and forever the fetters of the slave. In our country, where the two classes of population are so nearly equal, such a state of things as now exist in Jamaica would not last a day—an hour. Sir, any species of emancipation with us would be followed instantly by civil war between the whites and blacks. A bloody, exterminating war, the result of which could not be doubtful, although it would be accompanied with horrors such as history has not recorded. The blacks would be annihilated or once more subjugated and reduced to slavery. Such a catastrophe would be inevitable.

Permit me now sir, for a moment to look into the causes of this vast and dangerous excitement for it is intimately connected with the true merits of this important question. I am not disposed to attribute it to any peculiar feelings of hostility entertained by the North against the South, arising from

position merely. It is indeed natural that a people not owning slaves should entertain a strong aversion to domestic servitude. It is natural that the descendants of the Puritans, without any deep investigation of the subject, should have an instinctive hostility to slavery in every shape. It is natural that foreigners with whom the North is crowded—just released themselves from bondage—extravagant in their notions of the freedom of our Institutions, and profoundly ignorant of the principles on which society and government are organized, should view with horror the condition of the Southern operatives. And here let me say that these opinions, so natural, so strong and so distinctly marking the geographical divisions of our country, indicate differences which if pushed much further will irresistibly separate us into two nations. A separation which I should regard as a calamity to the whole human race, and which we of the South will endeavor to avert by every means save the sacrifice of our liberties, or the subversion of our domestic institutions.

But other causes are at work. This excitement belongs to the spirit of the age. Every close observer must perceive that we are approaching if we have not already reached a new era in civilization. The man of the nineteenth century is not the man of the seventeenth, and widely different from him of the eighteenth. Within the last sixty years there have been greater changes—not on the face of the earth, but in the history of civilized man, than had taken place before perhaps since the reign of Charlemagne. The progress and the philosophy of the events which have brought us to this state may be readily perceived and stated. Formerly all learning was confined to the clergy—all political power to the hereditary rulers of the people. The invention of printing dispersed knowledge among the middle classes. The clergy could no longer absorb it all. The first effect of this was the destruction of ecclesiastical despotism which was consummated by the Reformation. The next, a war of intelligence against political oppression. But the glittering temptations of power seduced it from its purposes—allured it to its assistance, and used its energies to rivet more closely their chains upon the people. At length, Government could no longer absorb all the talents and acquirements and ambition of the world. Then the effects of the contest began to show themselves. The tremendous conflicts for political ascendancy which took place in the British Parliament during the reign of George the Second, were followed by the American revolution, which was produced by the great intellects of this country, whom government could neither conciliate to its abuses, nor purchase, nor intimidate. Next came that terrible tragedy the French Revolution, which was confessedly brought about by the writings of the great philosophers of France. Since that period man appears no longer to be the being that he was. His moral nature seems to have been changed as by some sudden revelation from the lips of the Almighty, although the close observer sees that the great cause which had been so long and so silently, but surely working to effect this purpose, was the wide increase of knowledge. Bursting from the trammels of centuries of ignorance and sloth, he has been pressing onward for good and evil, with an energy tremendous and terrific. All nature has felt the impulse. The thin air has been converted into a resistless power. Steam, whose every definition was an useless vapor, has been made the most tremendous engine which has ever yet been placed in human hands—overcoming in its infancy, time, space, and resistance, with a celerity and ease just not supernatural. Railroads have been thrown over

swamps, rivers, lakes and mountains, which, connecting new and distant points, open vast channels for intercourse and commerce. Labor-saving machinery of every kind has been incalculably improved : much of it perfected. In one word, we have reached a period when physical impossibilities are no longer spoken of. What was visionary yesterday, is planned, estimated and resolved upon to-day—to-morrow it is put in execution, and the third day superseded by something more wonderful and more important still.

During the period of this mighty change, the great struggle between the rulers and the ruled has been carried on with corresponding vigor; through the thousand channels which genius has opened, wealth has flown in to aid it in its contest with the strong arm of power. The two combined finding themselves still unable to cope with the time-hardened strength of hereditary government, and eager, impatient, almost frenzied to achieve its conquest, have called into their assistance another ally—the *people*.—Not the “people” as we have hitherto been accustomed in this country to define that term, but the MOB—THE SANS-CULOTTES. Proclaiming as their watchword that immortal but now prostituted sentiment “that all men are born free and equal,” they have rallied to their standard the ignorant, uneducated, semi-barbarous mass which swarms and starves upon the face of Europe ! Unnatural and debasing union ! Hereditary institutions are gone. Already have the nobility of France been overthrown. Their days are numbered in the British Empire. Let them go. I am not their advocate. What next ? *Confiscation has begun !* The result is as obvious as if it were written on the wall. The hounds of Acteon turned upon their master. Genius and wealth stimulated by “an ambition that o’erleaps itself,” have called these spirits from the vasty deep, but they will down no more. The spoils of victory are theirs, and they will gorge and batten on them.

In this country we have no hereditary institutions to attract the first fury of this tempest, which is also brewing here, for the electric fluid has crossed the ocean, and the elements denote that it is expanding over the northern arch of our horizon. The question of Emancipation, which in Europe is only a collateral issue, a mere ramification of the great controversy between hereditary power and ultimate agrarianism, has become with us the first and most important question ; partly because the levellers here have not yet felt the heavy pressure of political oppression, and partly because they have regarded our institutions of slavery as most assimilated to an aristocracy. In this they are right. I accept the terms. *It is a government of the best.* Combining all the advantages, and possessing but few of the disadvantages of the aristocracy of the old world—Without fostering to an unwarrantable extent the pride, the exclusiveness, the selfishness, the thirst for sway, the contempt for the right of others, which distinguish the nobility of Europe—it gives us their education, their polish, their munificence, their high honor, their undaunted spirit. Slavery does indeed create an aristocracy—an aristocracy of talents, of virtue, of generosity and courage. In a slave country *every freeman* is an aristocrat. Be he rich or poor, if he does not possess a single slave, he has been born to all the natural advantages of the society in which he is placed and all its honors lie open before him, inviting his genius and industry. Sir, I do firmly believe that domestic slavery regulated as ours is produces the highest toned, the purest, best organization of society that has ever existed on the face of the earth.

Against this institution war has been commenced. A crusade is proclaimed. The banner has been hoisted, and on it is inscribed that visionary and disastrous sentiment, "Equality to all mankind;" although there is no analogous equality in the moral or physical creation, in earth, air, or water—in this world, or in the world to come, if our religion be not altogether wrong! The *sans-culottes* are moving. On the banks of the Hudson, the Ohio and the Susquehannah—on the hills, and in the vales, and along the "iron bound coast" of *immaculate* New England, they are mustering their hosts and preparing for their ravages. Let them come! we will be ready. Standing on our institutions, which of themselves give us a strength almost impregnable, and rallying around them as one man, with the help of God I believe we shall be able to roll back the frantic tide to whence it came. But woe unto the men of substance in the North whose infatuation may impel them to join this fatal crusade. The blood hounds they are setting upon us, successful or unsuccessful, will in due time come back from the chase; and come back to wring from them the accumulations of their industry, to overturn their altars, and desolate their household.

Mr. Speaker, I have touched on topics to-day which have not heretofore been broached within these walls. In thus departing from the usual silence of the South upon this subject, it may be thought that I have gone too far. But times have changed. They change before our eyes with the rapidity of thought. Painful as it is the truth should now be told, for shortly it will speak itself, and in a voice of thunder. We cannot, in my judgment, avoid this danger longer, by closing our eyes upon it and lulling our people into a false security. Nor can we justify ourselves before the world for the course which we may be compelled to take in order to maintain our rights, without boldly declaring what those rights are, defining them and showing that they are inestimable. All minor considerations must give way to effect those all-important objects. These have been my motives for the course I have taken here. I leave it to the rapidly approaching crisis to determine whether I am right or wrong.

Sir, if I were asked what it is, under existing circumstances, the South desires the North to do, I should say, "Pass laws in your different states, forbidding, by the severest penalties, the publication or circulation of such incendiary pamphlets as I have exhibited here to-day." This your Legislatures are fully competent to do without infringing on freedom of speech, or freedom of the press. That freedom means well regulated, legal freedom and not unrestrained licentiousness. Have you not laws to punish libel and slander? If a citizen of the state of New York were to say of another citizen that he was a "land pirate," "a murderer," and a "man-stealer," would he not be liable to an action of slander? If he were to write these things of him, or caricature him by infamous and disgusting pictorial representations, would he not be indictable for libel? What violation then, of social or constitutional right, would it be to extend the benefit of these same laws to us?

We ask nothing more than the recognition of a well known principle of international law, a striking illustration of which has happened within the memory of many who now hear me. It will be recollected that just before the war between France and England, which broke out in 1803, the English presses teemed with abuse of the First Consul. Bonaparte complained to the English Ministers. They indicted Peltier, tried, and convicted him. The declaration of war only prevented him from receiving his punishment.

If England, where there have been more battles fought for the liberty of speech, and of the press, than in any portion of the world, felt herself bound to indict a journalist for libelling her greatest enemy, the enemy of the whole human race, on the very eve of war with him, is it unreasonable to require you to extend the same justice to the grossly slandered and deeply injured people of the South; brethren as you call us of one great confederacy, devoted to the same great principles of constitutional liberty, and who have so often mingled our blood with yours, on the same glorious battle field?

Sir, I cannot believe gentlemen are sincere when they urge here this slang about the right of petition, and the freedom of speech and of the press, as though any one here had the remotest desire to curtail them. When Tappan and Garrison, and Gerrit Smith, and such as they are, use this cant, I understand them: they wish to inflame the popular passions by false appeals to popular rights. But when such men as the gentlemen from Massachusetts (Messrs. Adams and Cushing), and the gentleman from New York (Mr. Granger), who favored us the other day with eulogiums on certain Abolitionists, introduce it on this floor, I do not—yes, I do understand them. But I will not press that point, for I wish to connect this question with no political intrigues or discussions.

I will say frankly that I do not believe we shall be able to obtain the passage of such laws as I have alluded to in any non-slaveholding States. Sir, there is not a man of any note, or at least of any political aspiration, who will dare to make such a proposition. He would be prostrated, and forever. He would be covered with a mountain of public odium under which he could never rise again. And I want no stronger evidence of the true state of public sentiment in those states than this single fact.

What, sir, does the South ask next? She asks, and this at least she has a right to demand, that these petitions be not received here and recorded on your journals. This House at least ought to be a sanctuary, into which no such topic should be allowed to enter. Representatives from every section of the Republic ought to be permitted to come here faithfully to perform their duties to their constituents and their country, without being subjected to these incendiary attacks—their feelings insulted, their rights assaulted, and the falsest calumnies of themselves and those they represent thrown on them daily, and perpetuated to their posterity, and all the world, among the archives of the Union. Is this demanding any thing unreasonable, unjust, unkind? Sir, we cannot endure it. If these things are to be permitted here you drive us from your councils. Let the consequences rest on you.

But, Mr. Speaker, even if this House should refuse to receive these petitions, I am not one of those who permits himself to trust that the conflict will be at an end. No, sir, we shall still have to meet it elsewhere. We will meet it. It is our inevitable destiny to meet it in whatever shape it comes, or to whatever extremity it may go. Our State Legislatures will have to pass laws regulating our police with a stricter hand. They will have to pass and to enforce laws prohibiting the circulation of incendiary pamphlets through the mail within their limits. We may have to adopt an entire nonintercourse with the free States, and finally, sir, we may have to dissolve this Union. From none of these measures can we shrink as circumstances may make them necessary. Our last thought will be to give up our Institutions. We were born and bred under them, and will maintain them or die in their defence. And I warn the Abolitionists, ignorant, infatuated barbarians as they

are, that if chance shall
 a FELON'S DEATH. No law, no human influence can arrest his fate.
 The superhuman instinct preservation, the indignant feelings of an
 outraged people, to whose nearth-stones he is seeking to carry death and
 desolation, pronounce his doom; and if we failed to accord it to him we
 should be unworthy of the forms we wear, unworthy of the beings whom
 it is our duty to protect, and we should merit and expect the indignation
 of offended Heaven.

NOTES.

(a) Address to the Auxiliaries and Friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Dear Brethren: At the last annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it was
 "Resolved, That an effort be made to raise 30,000 dollars for the use of the Society the
 present year, and that the Abolitionists present pledge themselves to raise such sums as they
 may respectively offer."

Donations and pledges were immediately obtained, amounting to 14,500 dollars.

Additional pledges have since been obtained in Boston, to the amount of 4,000 dollars. The
 sum of 11,500 dollars remains to be raised. As there are known to be more than two hundred
 Anti Slavery Societies, on kindred principles with the American, we have no doubt that this
 sum can speedily be made up. Each Society has only to raise 150 dollars, and the work is
 done. We believe that those Societies which remain unpledged will joyfully come forward to
 do their proportion as soon as called on."

* * * * *

"The plan proposed at the annual meeting, and now adopted by the Executive Committee,
 in the confident belief that the means will be furnished, is this:

1. To increase the number of Agents, by appointing as many able, efficient, and thorough-
 going men as can be obtained.

2. To commence the distribution of publications on a new and extended scale.

The following publications will be issued monthly, viz:

1. On the first week of each month, a small folio paper, entitled Human Rights, to be filled
 with facts and arguments on the subject of Slavery and its remedy, written in a plain and
 familiar style. Of this twenty thousand copies will be printed, to be increased to fifty thou-
 sand or more, as soon as arrangements can be made to have them promptly and judiciously
 distributed among the reading population.

2. On the second week, the Anti-Slavery Record, a small magazine, with cuts, will be
 printed, to the number of twenty-five thousand copies.

3. On the third week, the Emancipator will be printed on a large imperial sheet, of the size
 of the New York Observer, or the New York Evangelist. This will contain more extended
 essays and descriptions, on points connected with the cause. It is expected that from fifteen
 to twenty-five thousand copies will be printed monthly this year.

4. On the fourth week will be issued twenty-five thousand copies of the Slave's Friend, a
 juvenile magazine, with cuts, adapted especially for circulation among children and youth.

All these publications will be distributed gratuitously, by the aid of the auxiliaries, to
 those who are not Abolitionists, or will be sold at the office, to friends of the cause, at a very
 low rate."

* * * * *

"The present is the time for action."

* * * * *

"Let Female Societies be formed. Female Societies probably did more for the abolition
 of slavery in Great Britain than those of the other sex. They scattered anti-slavery tracts,
 handbills, pamphlets, and books, every where. They circulated petitions; they covered
 articles of furniture or apparel, such as pincushions, work-boxes, handkerchiefs, boxes,
 baskets, purses, port-folios, etc. etc., with devices and mottoes reminding the users of the
 poor slaves. They made the matter a topic of conversation on almost all occasions. Several
 societies of ladies, in this country, have already commenced the same course with good success.
 Let the female sex, then, throughout the land, emulate the efforts made by their sisters over
 the ocean, in this work of benevolence.

Juvenile Societies, too, may be engaged in the same work. Children are all Abolitionists."

* * * * *

"We hope Abolitionists will every where make it a person to distribute the publications; that they will not let them be thrown away, but put them in the hands, only, of those who will read and think. Let no Abolitionist, at home or abroad, ever be without a supply, and be ready to embrace every favorable opportunity."

Petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia should be put in circulation immediately. The minds of the members of Congress should, if possible, be enlightened as to the real design of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and their prejudices should be removed, as in many it may easily be, by personal interviews with Abolitionists. The way may thus be prepared for a more favorable hearing before the representatives of the people."

Signed

"ARTHUR TAPPAN,
JOHN RANKIN,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
JOSHUA LEAVITT,
SAMUEL E. CORNISE,
WILLIAM GOODELL,
ABRAHAM L. COX,
THEODORE S. WRIGHT,
SIMEON S. JOCELYN,
ELIZAR WRIGHT, Jr.

Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society."

(b) There are now about half a million that still have the *liberty* of holding slaves; their slaves now amount to upwards of two millions; and their landed estates are of vast extent; they have entire control over eleven States—the poorer classes of the white people are well trained to subjection, and occupy a grade a little above that of the slaves. Few nobles in Europe can command so great a retinue of servants—and no king on earth possesses more absolute authority. Indeed such is their dignity, wealth and influence, that although but half a million, they are able to control twelve and a half millions, and do in fact govern the Union; and the plan is now laid to keep up and increase their dignity, wealth and power, to future generations. They have managed so wisely as to get the whole Union bound by the Constitution to keep their slaves in subjection, and allow them a representation in the General Government in proportion to the number of their slaves. The increase of these, already 54,000 a year, will soon give the increase of one Representative every year. By the aid of the rest of the Union, the slaves can be kept in subjection until they shall have become much more numerous than the white people, provided they are prevented from learning to read, and thus kept in total ignorance. And for this purpose, laws are passed with heavy penalties against teaching slaves to read. Now it is obvious, that by those means Slavery might be extended to remote posterity, especially with what assistance the Colonization Society might be able to give them, by carrying off occasionally a little of the surplusage. Every one can easily see that these Southern gentlemen have before them a magnificent prospect of wealth and power, provided the rest of the Union will continue to be their humble servants in enabling them to keep their slaves in subjection. Now the avowed design of the Abolitionists is to abolish Slavery—not indeed by force of arms, but by forming against it public opinion which will be even more powerful. They have combined together to propagate the doctrine, that 'all men are made of one blood,' and of course are 'treated equal': Vast sums of money are now pledged to propagate the sentiment throughout the whole land. Agents are lecturing, papers are circulating, societies are forming, and thousands continually joining them. It seems as if the world will soon be on fire. What is to be done? Argument has been tried and exhausted in vain! Mobs have been tried with little effect! The heresy spreads like fire in the whirlwind. The last remedy is now demanded—Extermination entire,—nothing less will do! If matters go on as they are, the result is obvious:—Every man who does not hold slaves will set his face against Slavery—and then, how will half a million of men continue to hold more than two millions in bondage? Mark the design! All force is disavowed; but then, the slave holder must, so soon as the tide of public opinion rolls against him, yield up his slaves: he cannot hold them without aid; much less can he bear the reproach that will be heaped upon him.

It is not to be disguised, sir, that war has broken out between the South and the North, not easily to be terminated. Political and commercial men, for their own purposes, are industriously striving to restore peace. But the peace which they may accomplish will be superficial and hollow. True and permanent peace can only be restored by removing the cause of the war—that is, slavery. It can never be established on any other terms. The sword now drawn will not be sheathed till victory, entire victory, is ours or theirs;—not until that deep and damning stain is washed out from our Nation, or the chains of Slavery are riveted afresh where they now are, and on our necks also. It is idle, criminal, to speak of peace on any other terms.

(c) PREAMBLE.

"WHEREAS, unc- every exists to a fearful extent amongst us as a nation, in vio-
lation of those princ- lation of our fathers to the dreadful struggle of the Revolution—
"that all men are crea- J, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalien-
able rights, that among are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

WHEREAS, the aristocr- of the South are determined to perpetuate it by means scarcely
less dreadful than the tort- of the Inquisition, and the [bastard] aristocracy of the north
are aiding their "chivalrous" compeers of the South in their inhuman endeavors by misrep-
resenting, slandering, threatening, and imprisoning those who boldly espouse the cause of
universal freedom, and further by circulating publications and making speeches so highly
incendiary as to excite mobs, and impel them to their ruthless work of terror and destruction.

WHEREAS, the crisis has arrived at which the descendants of the pilgrims must determine
whether they will establish the shameful and cowardly precedent of surrendering their most
sacred rights at the nod of an arrogant domineering and self-constituted aristocracy, or in
the spirit of their fathers manfully maintain them.

AND WHEREAS, if we remain silent and inactive we effectually surrender *those rights*, and
with them the hopes of the slave, till the prediction of Jefferson shall be realized, and the
slave fearless and free shall till the land of his thralldom enriched with the blood of his
master.

THEREFORE, RESOLVED, under a deep sense of duty to ourselves, to the slave, to our country,
and to God, that "sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," we will exercise the right of
discussing the subject of slavery, that we will use all constitutional and peaceful means for its
speedy termination—and to act the more efficiently, form ourselves into a society and adopt
the following, &c.

(d.) ABOLITION.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

Some forty miles from Cincinnati, to the East, are two settlements of free negroes—probably
near a thousand—men, women and children, of the true ebony color; with a very little mix-
ture of the mahogany or lighter shades. The negroes own the land occupied by them, but
without the power to sell. Each family has a small farm. They are emancipated slaves, and
these lands were purchased expressly for them, and parceled out among them about fifteen
years ago.

Their lands are not of the best quality of Ohio lands; but, by good management could
be made very good—they are particularly well adapted to grass, either meadow or pasture.

Having been formerly slaves and compelled to work, one would suppose they ought to have
industrious habits. They have had every inducement to industry and good conduct held
out to them.—The experiment was to test the merits of the negro race under the most favor-
able circumstances for success.

Has this experiment succeeded? No it has not. In all Ohio, can any white settlement be
found equally wretched, equally unproductive?

Farms given to them fifteen years ago, instead of being well improved, and the timber
preserved for farming, have been sadly managed—small awkward clearings, and those not in
grass, but exhausted and worn out in corn crops—the timber greatly destroyed—wretched
log houses, with mud floors; with chimneys of mud and wood—with little timber for further
farming.

They are so excessively lazy and stupid, that the people of Georgetown (near by their
camps) and the neighboring farmers will not employ them as work hands to any extent.
They do not raise produce enough on their own lands to feed their families, much less do they
have a surplus for sale abroad. They pass most of their time in their little sorry cabins;
too listless even to fiddle and dance. One may ride through the "negro camp" as they are cal-
led, passing a dozen straggling cabins with smoke issuing out of the ends, in the middle of
clearings, without seeing a soul either at work or play. The fear of starvation makes them
work the least possible quantity, while they are much too lazy to play.

Why do not the zealous Abolitionists go there and see the experiment in all its beauty—the
slave changed into a free, but wretched savage! Why not make something of these thousand
negroes? There are, not more than two or three families out of the whole who are improved
by the change from slavery to freedom.

The negro settlements are a dead weight upon Brown county, as to any productive bene-
fit from the negro lands, or from negro labor; and that space of country might as well, to
this day, have remained in possession of the Indians.

If Southern wealth can be applied to buy and colonize among us such a worthless popu-
lation, what farmer in Ohio is safe? Has he any guarantee that a black colony will not be
established in his neighborhood?

Let any one who wishes to learn the operation of emancipated negroes, visit the Brown
county camps. As they sink in laziness, poverty and filth, they increase in numbers—
their only produce is children. They want nothing but cowries to make them equal to
the negroes of the Niger.